1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614 together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
(a) Matailakemba
(b) Vatuwangga
(c) Naivi
(d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
(e) Katumbalevu
(f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

614 565 The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu. Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful.

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group.

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households.

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndakoro { Nanggalia { Matawai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

[1] [Ref definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli
	Waipose
	Naivikula
	Navurewa
	Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita
	Ndre
	Mbutha
	Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu
	Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuika
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala
	Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa	Thenu	Namana
	Lomanikoro		Mbutukoro
	Nasuthu	Sau	Mbutoisau
	Natalenggitawa		Nakorolailai
	Namolutu		
Yawalevu	Nautuutu		
	Natavua		
	Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

> The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku; Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times: it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

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Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei,* serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni,* thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani.* This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)." Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1:Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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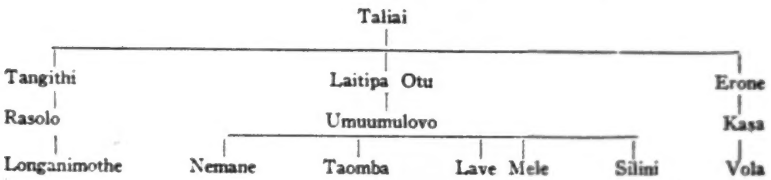
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There [604] is no feast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

605 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakawandei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

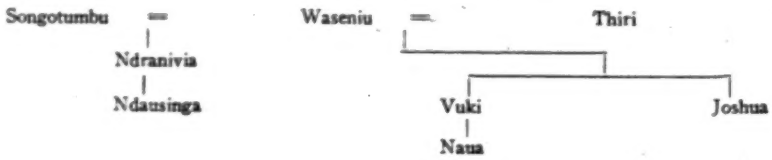
593 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette
565 towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga*," I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[x4] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua*, old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana*, that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

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Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

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The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

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According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles."

601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go.

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers.

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us."

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga,* chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga,* gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga,* an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say "*tilou.*" This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The *ulua* made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatimbo* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

565
548

clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

565
554

The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

[264]

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

576
565

Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landu-vunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship.

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people.

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou.

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original.

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

565 Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina*, or "true *turanga*." I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama*.

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

643 565 In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

643 The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau, in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643

Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

644
516

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu.

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi.

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered.

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

574
272
276

is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

[177]
765
272
565
276

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

765
272
565
276

(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono*, which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona*. In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes.

A man gets land through his mother if he comes to live with his mother's people.

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira; because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole.

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman).

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers.

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[9] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Tahai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[9] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40).

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald.

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island.

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast."

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there.

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year.

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish.

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

(*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Serving

264
[272]
[415]

Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264
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When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him: as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; *Kemi, Cain; Melania, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary;* Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i vaiu na lutenggu.* *A i vaiu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

763 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be
565 blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the
431 dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth in-
431 side, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a
565 Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*tawa wale noa*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu tukaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rovurenga*) because after putting down
431 the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of *mourning worn as* long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles; these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*). From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*) and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[581] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydro- 631
graphic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter 621
divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614
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Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (*c*) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i tokai*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[1]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tavu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tavu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of 643
Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[1] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 [194] The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are 556 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called *veve*, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kinship Groups

THE PHRATRY

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

565 The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradi-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai.

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors.

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather.

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages.

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare.

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages.

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndavu*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

● 565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

The Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.